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*as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the* ikoltawanehetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*]

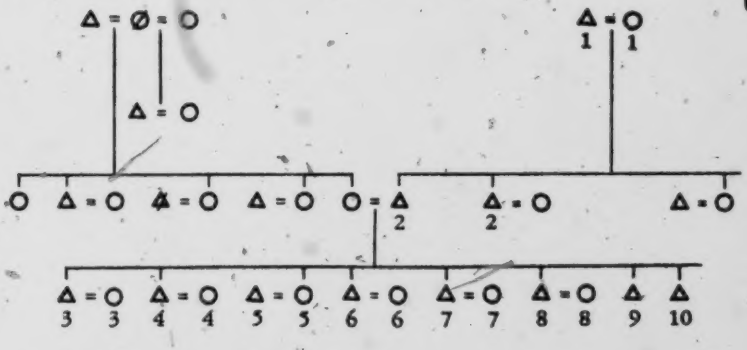
*The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech:*

*Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."*

*Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."*

*Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."*

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration




*Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."*

*Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.*

*"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.*

*"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this*

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621 527 holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our
• [537] fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."

[782] The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.

[273] Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.

621 527 574 The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the sak'inaltat and the hand-kissing, called ?utzk'aab. The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 527 Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and

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men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have organized to help carry out the Mass and other church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or principales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church," until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The response was, "Principales with the president." In order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of principal, one must serve five times in the civil and six times in the religious posts in the traditional hierarchy. The principales provide continuity in the transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall when the old officials depart to their homes, and passing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28, 31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day administration of affairs. Although the incumbents occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of status in carrying out one of their most important acts, the collection of contributions for the major fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into which the money is turned over by the police, and this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were also bankers, holding the money until it was spent. This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiving the money, now redefined as a sort of begging operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*, alfereces. They are associated with the four major saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the importance of the saint but by the order of entry into office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father"; *šil pasaro*, remains past; *sčebal pasaro*, second past; and *?ač' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are served in this order wherever they appear. Although tied to a *č'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in the townhall in bearing the banners there from the church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they provide the post which is crucial for learning the set speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the *pat?ot'an*, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress into the post of first or second regidor without having passed through that of alferez. This post is the most difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos in one year of average expenditures, about half the

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## Change of Officials

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"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

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[782]
[788]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

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The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

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The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wišperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

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The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ?ač martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[537]

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Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts.

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse.

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehirolelik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 794 | 81. What do they do? | | They drink |
| 796 | 82. What time do they leave his house? | | Prayer time *(oración)* |
| 124 | | | |
| [273] | 83. Where do they go? | | To their house |
| | 84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel?* | | Go to hear Mass |
| | 85. Who is in the church to hear Mass? | | All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders |
| | 86. What time is the Mass? | | At 7 o'clock |
| | 87. What do they do when they come out of Mass? | | Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento |
| | 88. How many go? | | Thirteen |
| | 89. What do the rest do? | | Three juniors *(niẽ'anil)* remain play drum at door of church |
| | 90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? | | Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr |
| [426] | 91. What do they do with the money? | | They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ja sk'an smahanik yu?un ya?be sol yu?un sk'an solin hilel)* |
| | 92. How much money is there for the virgin? | | Two hundred twenty-eight pesos |
| [624] | 93. Who counts it? | Fiscal with two kobraria | The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings |
| | 94. How much money is there for San Pedro? | Forty pesos | |
| [624] | 95. What do they do after they count the money? | Begins the *pat?ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento | The principales recite the *pat?o?tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento |
| [539] | | | |
| [273] | 96. What do they do afterward? | They drink liquor | They drink liquor |